

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-14 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03

SS-20 USIA-15 SAJ-01 SAB-01 SAM-01 ACDA-19 CCO-00

SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 DRC-01 /151 W

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R 311645Z MAY 74

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9325

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

USMISSION BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEBBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

USMISSION USUN

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 8241

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, IS, UR, XF, SY

SUBJECT: BREZHNEV MESSAGE TO ASAD

GENEVA FOR MEPC DEL

1. SUMMARY. UNEXPECTED PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM BREZHNEV TO ASAD

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EXPRESSING SOVIET LEADERSHIP'S SATISFACTION AT CONCLUSION OF

SYRIAN-ISRAELI DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT (FRONT-PAGED IN ALL MAJOR DAILIES MAY 31, SUMMARY TASS ENGLISH WIRE MAY 30) PUTS SOVIETS AND BREZHNEV PERSONALLY SQUARELY BEHIND NEW ACCORD. MESSAGE ALSO ACCORDS DISENGAGEMENT A SUBSTANTIALLY GREATER POSITIVE SIGNIFICANCE THAN EARLIER SOVIET COMMENT HAS REFLECTED. MESSAGE WILL PRESUMABLY BE WELCOME IN DAMASCUS FOR BACKING IT GIVES ASAD'S PERSONAL STAKE IN THE AGREEMENT. ON SOVIET SIDE IT IS AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENT WHICH SHOULD CLARIFY ANY DOUBTS ABOUT WHERE LEADERSHIP STANDS ON DEVELOPMENTS. WITH THEIR FOCUS NOW ON MOVING THINGS QUICKLY TO GENEVA, SOVIETS WILL PROBABLY SEE AN INTEREST IN RAPID COMPLETION OF DISENGAGEMENT. IN THIS CONTEXT, BREZHNEV'S BOLD STATEMENT APPEARS TO US A POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT FROM U.S. POINT OF VIEW. END SUMMARY.

2. MAIN POINTS OF BREZHNEV'S MESSAGE TO ASAD ARE FOLLOWING:

A. SOVIETS ARE SATISFIED "WITH ATTAINMENT OF AN AGREEMENT ON THE DISENGAGEMENT OF SYRIAN AND ISRAELI FORCES."

B. AGREEMENT, WHICH MARKS BEGINNING OF LIBERATION OF ISRAELI-OCCUPIED SYRIAN TERRITORY, WAS MADE POSSIBLE BY SOVIET SUPPORT FOR SYRIA.

C. SOVIETS AND SYRIANS, DURING CONTACTS IN COURSE OF NEGOTIATING THE AGREEMENT, WERE UNITED IN VIEW.

D. CONDITIONS OF AGREEMENT SHOW THAT SYRIAN PEOPLE AND THEIR LEADERSHIP STAUNCHLY DEFENDED SYRIAN LEGITIMATE NATIONAL INTERESTS (OMITTED FROM TASS SUMMARY).

E. DISENGAGEMENT IS ONLY FIRST STEP TOWARD FINAL SETTLEMENT, WHICH MUST BE BASED ON TOTAL ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM ALL ARAB LANDS OCCUPIED IN 1967 AND SECURING "LEGITIMATE NATIONAL RIGHTS" OF PALESTINIANS.

F. FOLLOWING COMPLETION OF DISENGAGEMENT, GENEVA CONFERENCE SHOULD WASTE NO TIME IN MOVING TO CONSIDER AND RESOLVE "ALL QUESTIONS OF A SETTLEMENT IN ORDER TO ASSURE THE DURABLE SECURITY OF ALL STATES AND PEOPLES IN THE AREA."
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3. BREZHNEV MESSAGE STRIKES US AS HAVING SEVERAL IMPORTANT IMPLICATIONS:

A. BY GIVING SYRIAN-ISRAELI ACCORD BACKING OF WHOLE LEADERSHIP AND OF BREZHNEV PERSONALLY, SOVIETS GIVE STRONG SUPPORT TO DISENGAGEMENT. MESSAGE'S INFLATION OF SOVIET ROLE IN DISENGAGEMENT IS NO DOUBT AIMED AT THOSE SOVIETS WHO WORRY

THAT KISSINGER DIPLOMACY HAS LEFT MOSCOW IN THE COLD.

B. MESSAGE IS ALSO CLEAR STATEMENT TO PRO-MOSCOW ELEMENTS IN ME THAT SYRIAN-ISRAELI AGREEMENT IS TO BE SUPPORTED. WE ASSUME SUCH SUPPORT WILL BE WELCOME IN DAMASCUS AND IN CAIRO.

C. MESSAGE PROBABLY SIGNALS BEGINNING OF MOSCOW CAMPAIGN DIRECTED AT INFLUENCING POST-DISENGAGEMENT DEVELOPMENTS. WE ANTICIPATE, IN THIS CONNECTION, STEPPED-UP ACTIVITY AIMED AT PUSHING FOR EARLIEST POSSIBLE OPENING OF GENEVA CONFERENCE AND AT GATHERING SUPPORT FOR VIEW THAT MEPC SHOULD ADDRESS "ALL MATTERS" CONCERNED WITH ME SETTLEMENT.

D. MESSAGE'S REFERENCE TO SOVIET-SYRIAN CONTACTS AND COINCIDENCE OF VIEWS, ITS EMPHASIS ON SOVIET ROLE IN ACHIEVEMENT OF DISENGAGEMENT, AND ITS ASSERTION THAT TERMS OF THE ACCORD MEET SYRIAN NATIONAL INTEREST ARE NOT, AS SOVIETS SAY, BY CHANCE. IMPLICATION IS THAT CLOSE SYRIAN CONSULTATION WITH SOVIETS DURING TALKS YIELDED TANGIBLE BENEFITS FOR DAMASCUS. DISTINCTION IS IMPLICIT BETWEEN THIS SITUATION AND SOLO EGYPTIAN PERFORMANCE LAST FALL. MESSAGE FOR CAIRO AND OTHERS IS THAT POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS IN ME MUST HAVE SOVIETS' SUPPORT.

E. FINALLY, MESSAGES ENDORSEMENT OF DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT PROBABLY IMPLIES SOVIET INTEREST IN SUPPORTING ITS IMPLEMENTATION. FOCUS ON POST-DISENGAGEMENT DEVELOPMENTS ALSO SUGGEST MOSCOW BELIEVES THAT EARLIEST COMPLETION OF DISENGAGEMENT PROCESS IS DESIRABLE. THUS, BREZHNEV MESSAGE STRIKES US AS A WELCOME DEVELOPMENT FROM U.S. POINT OF VIEW.

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